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ABSTRACT

This paper (Part I of a presentation titled "Early Childhood Education in Urban America") provides information primarily for non-Americans interested in early education as it is related to the management of educational change. The focus is on policy making in early childhood education from a historical perspective, covering the years 1933-1976. Enduring themes in American early childhood education are identified and described. The existing structure of early childhood education is outlined in an overview of goals and purposes, and organization and administration of programs at the federal, state and local levels. Enrollment patterns, and recent developments in urban school systems, including parenthood education and adult education, staff preparation and development, and competency based training programs are also discussed. (MS) (MS)

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EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION IN URBAN AMERICA

PART I

An Overview

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Prepared for the IMTEC/OECD United States Bicentennial Seminar on Managing Change in Urban Education, Harvard University-Lesley College, October 10-13, 1976.

IMTEC/OECD United States Bicentennial Seminar:

Managing Change in Urban Education

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION IN URBAN AMERICA

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EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION IN URBAN AMERICA

Part I: An Overview[1]

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A. INTRODUCTION

1. The Social Context

American early childhood education has undergone tremendous changes in mood during the last 10 years. The compensatory early education programs of the sixties--most notably Headstart and Follow Through--were launched with heady optimism and unrealistic promises regarding their projected achievements. These programs became intertwined with political struggles involved with other community action programs and with our country's deepening involvement in Vietnam. During this time, models of early education were developed based on different theoretical approaches in psychology resulting in the diversification of the field. Research and evaluation on these programs, however, did not fulfill the promises made when the programs were initiated. Combined with changing political conditions, early childhood education in the seventies entered into a "period of skepticism"[2] and "disillusionment."[3]

Although programmatic innovations and funding have waned, there is a continuing concern regarding our society's attempts to provide for the optimal development of its children. There are influential groups who have successfully opposed proposed government-supported child development schemes. Among these groups are those who favor restricted federal involvement in social welfare strategies, social science researchers who favor the allocation of resources to adolescence versus early childhood, and groups opposing governmental intervention into family life. There are at the same time equally influential and diverse political forces that urge expanded federal involvement in child development programs. These groups include feminist movements, child development researchers, child advocacy groups, professionals in early education, policy planners who see programs as a means of reducing welfare rolls, private industry which is either focused on providing care for children as a work benefit or providing care for profit, unions who argue child care should be an employee benefit, and most recently, national educational associations.

This broad-based concern regarding children reflects what Lawrence Cremin has referred to as changes in the "configurations of education."[4] The relationships among educative institutions in the society at a given time and place shift with changes in social conditions so that the question of the allocation of educational functions is likely to enter the public policy realm. In any given society, the proposed expansion

of early childhood programs will be hotly debated depending upon whether the balance between familial and outside agencies is changing regarding early socialization.

In the United States, changes in the American family structure and concomitant changes in social attitudes continue to press upon public policy regarding children and their families.[5] Economic necessity and changing attitudes among women have led to a steady increase of women in the work force. One-third of all children below the age of 6 years (6.5 million), and one-half of all children of school age (21.0 million) have mothers who are working. From 1970 to 1975, the number of working mothers rose from 12 million to 14 million, an increase of 17%.

Another significant change in family structure is the dramatic increase (rate doubled from 1960-1974) in the number of families headed by one parent, typically a woman.[6] One out of six children under the age of 18 years (10 million) live in single-parent families. Of these children, 15% (2.8 million children) were under 6 years of age. This growth is due to the steep rise in divorce rates, tendency of women with children to form separate households from their husbands to receive aid, and increases in never-married mothers (10.9% of all women heading families). Children living in single-parent families are more likely to have mothers in the labor force. Of children under 6 years of age, 47% had a mother in the labor force. Of children from 6 to 17 years old, 57% had a working mother.

Another phenomenon of concern is the increase in teenage parenthood. More than 600,000 children are born each year (1973) to teenage mothers, a third of whom are unmarried.[7] Adolescents 10 to 14 years old are the only group of American women for whom the birth rate is rising. Teenage mothers are more likely to have children with a variety of health related problems and defects. There is also an increased tendency for these mothers to keep their children instead of placing them for adoption.

These changes in family structure are related to changes in educational institutions. The declining birthrate (14.9 per 1,000 in 1974)[8] is linked to the closing of school facilities in many communities, particularly at the elementary level, and has partially contributed to the ranks of unemployed teachers. This constellation of factors combined with others to be discussed in this paper contributes to a focus on early childhood education--a seminar theme of this bicentennial conference--as it relates to changes in the goals and roles of American public education.

2. Coverage of the Paper

Based on the intense activity in early childhood education during the sixties, there is a large and continually expanding mass of information in this area.[9] Given the purposes of the conference, this paper takes a particular orientation consistent with the IMTEC/OECD Bicentennial Seminar theme: Managing Change in Urban Education.

American early education has traditionally been based in the disciplines of child psychology, psychiatry, and pediatrics, and in the early education profession.[10] Issues of organization, administration, financing, policy, and educational change are not well represented in most discussions of early education. This paper does not claim to provide comprehensive coverage of the field of early education. Rather, it provides first-level information primarily to non-Americans who are interested in early education in the context of the management of educational change.

The paper is divided into two sections representing different phases of the Conference itself. Part I is prepared as an overview or background paper on early childhood education in urban America for Conference participants to read before coming to the first sessions at Harvard University and Lesley College. Part I focuses on policy making in early childhood education from a historical perspective, covering the years 1933-1976. Enduring themes in American early childhood education are identified and described. With this background, the next section describes the existing structure of early childhood education. The coverage includes goals and purposes; enrollment patterns; organization and administration of programs from the national (federal), state, and local levels; recent developments in early childhood education in urban school systems; and staff preparation and development. Bilingual early education programs are not described in this discussion because it is included in another seminar theme, cultural pluralism.

Part II will be presented as an address at the first session of the Conference. Current policy issues in early childhood education will be described. Questions revolve around goals, responsibility, delivery systems, and program evaluation. The implications of these debates for questions of educational change in urban schools will be discussed.

3. Definitions

The term "early childhood education" varies in usage by individual states and different programs. For the purposes of this paper, early childhood education (ECE) is defined as the care and education of children below the legal age of admission to the first year of compulsory primary education, and including the first three years of primary education (Grades 1-3). Hence, ECE includes children from birth to 8 years of age.

Definitional confusion is a common problem in cross-national discussions of ECE since children in different countries enter the compulsory schooling system anytime between 4 and 7 years of age. Furthermore, terms have evolved with different meanings in different countries. Historically, within American society, there has been a definite distinction made between the nursery school or preschool and the day care center. The nursery school typically provided an "educational" program for children of the middle and upper classes. The day

care centers, on the other hand, were run by social welfare agencies, and provided all day "custodial" care for children with identified categories of "problems."

However, this distinction in terms of educational and custodial functions is not clear cut in actual practice. First, centers labeled as day care do provide educational programs. Similarly, preschools sometimes function as baby-sitting centers. Second, early education--whether in preschool or day care--is inseparable from early socialization. Children learn values and acceptable modes of behavior in custodial units as well as in those which consciously provide an educational program. Third, day care is increasingly being characterized as being part of a total educational program in current federal legislation and in the official standards of the welfare agencies.

B. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES[11]

1. Policy Formation in Early Childhood Education (1933-1976)

The study of policy formation in early childhood education is still in a stage of prenatal development. There are several reasons for this state of affairs. First, except for periodic national programs which will be described below, different levels of government (federal, state, local) have not taken a leadership role in early childhood education. Related to the first point, Americans have been wary of governmental intrusion into their private lives, and the sanctity of the home and family is the most extreme aspect of this social ideology. Finally, up until recently, early childhood education has been on the fringes of the American public school system, included when funding was available, and easily dropped when funding ceased. Thus, in most states, early childhood education is not yet considered to be an integral, if even a permanent part of the public school structure. This situation, as we will discuss in Part II of this paper, appears to be changing.

Martin Rein has suggested that policy is a "curious admixture of psychological assumptions, scientific concepts, value commitments, social aspirations, personal interests, and administrative constraint."[12] The as yet infant area of policy formation in early education indicates that Rein's definition is highly useful in a historical examination the role of the federal government in early education during the period 1933-1976.

During the twentieth century, the federal government was involved in at least three national programs of early education: the Works Progress Administration (WPA) Nursery Schools (1933-1943), the Lanham Act Child Care Centers (1943-1946), and the compensatory early education programs begun in the sixties (1965-present). In examining these three programs, several themes recur (See Table 1).

Table 1

Three Federal Programs of Early Education

Goals	WPA Nursery Schools	Lanham Centers	Headstart
Social and Economic	To provide work for individuals on relief during Depression	To provide child care for mothers employed in war industries during World War II	To provide programs to deal with conflict over race and poverty in context of urban unrest and minority militancy
Child	Health services, nutrition, good physical, social, and mental development	"Direct contribution to child life and the prevention of physical and emotional wreckage."	"Improving the child's physical health and abilities; helping the emotional and social development of the child . . ."
Parents	Parent education programs	Parent education and enabling mothers to work	"Strengthening the family's ability to relate positively to the child and his problems."
Public Schools	Increased opportunities for public schools to realize the value of nursery schools for adoption into the public system	"Opportunity for public school to incorporate preschools into its system."	To prepare children for the public school experience

Federal involvement in early childhood education has been temporary in nature and responsive primarily to social, political, and economic crises. The WPA nursery schools--also called the Emergency Nursery Schools--were seen as a temporary means of employing people on relief. Once this situation was over, there was clearly no federal intention to continue the programs. The WPA adopted a demonstration policy for its educational projects: "As a demonstration of the public usefulness of nursery schools, we will assist the community in establishing and conducting this project. But the WPA aid cannot be promised beyond the fiscal year, and such aid will end entirely when large-scale unemployment ends."[13]

The Lanham Act Centers were created to deal with a war-caused problem. Funds were distributed only to communities where war-related federal activity created a strain on existing community facilities. Funds for child care were to be terminated at the end of the war. Furthermore, the temporary nature of the funding was stressed by its most ardent advocates and probably contributed to its political acceptance.

More recent compensatory early education programs for low-income children such as Headstart originated out of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. In Section 205a of the Act which provided the funding for Headstart, the early education of the low-income child was not even mentioned. Headstart was seen as a program which was integrally a part of the Office of Economic Opportunity community action strategy to reduce poverty.

Even these Headstart programs of the sixties were designed to eliminate the cycle of poverty within a given number of years.[14] The professional advocates who stood behind the War on Poverty argued that disadvantaged children needed a "head start" which would allow them to enter school on an equal basis with middle-class children. These children of the poor needed cognitive enrichment and acquisition of school-appropriate behaviors. Then the possibilities were unlimited--school failure common to minority students would be considerably reduced or eliminated. They would achieve in school, stay in school longer, have better jobs and incomes, and thus improve their own social and economic status in the society. Early education was seen as the primary antidote for social inequities; the vicious cycle of poverty in America would come to an end.[15]

Connected with its responsiveness to social and economic crises, federal aid has been targeted toward a narrow range of children--those presumed to suffer disadvantages which families themselves cannot ameliorate and/or which pose a potential threat to public safety. Simply, aid was not intended for the education and care of all children. The fact that recent legislation has been perceived as nontargeted has become the rallying point for those who oppose federal involvement. For example, the Comprehensive Child Development Bill of 1971, which would have made it possible for children from a wider range of income levels to participate than in previous federal programs, was characterized in the conservative press: "(It) is more than an antipoverty measure. It

is blatantly a social experimental scheme to change the nature of American society by undermining the basic unit of that society: the family."[16]

This targeting of federal aid is related to the theme of early childhood education as a means of social reform. Compare, for example, the announcement of the Emergency Nursery Schools in 1933, with that of the Kerner Commission on Early Education. In announcing the Emergency Nursery Schools, Administrator Harry L. Hopkins noted: "It has been brought to my attention that young children of preschool age in the homes of needy and unemployed parents are suffering from conditions existing in the homes incident to current economic and social difficulties. The education and health programs of the nursery schools can aid as nothing else in combating the physical and mental handicaps being imposed upon these young children."[17] As part of the Kerner Commission's recommendations for national action: "Early childhood education is at the very heart to reconstruct the environment which incapacitates disadvantaged children educationally, even before they enter the school system."[18]

Marvin Lazerson has argued that early education has been used as a substitute for broader social reform.[19] However, the origins of this public strategy in American history remain unclear. But that this theme is a persistent one is indicated by the Kerner Commission's recommendation (cited above) which was made in the face of evidence suggesting Headstart programs were not accomplishing their compensatory objectives.

The association of federal programs with children of the poor, and the fact the programs were intended to serve economic and production needs may have seriously hampered future federal efforts to deal with a broader range of American children. Federal intervention in the lives of children has been considered appropriate only when it was judged that their families could not adequately care for them because of poverty or other extenuating circumstances. This viewpoint was integrally related to the longstanding federal policy that the family was critically important as an agent of early socialization.

In 1909, in a declaration of the First White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children, the position of the federal government vis-a-vis the family was articulated: "Home life is the highest and finest production of civilization. It is the great molding force of mind and character. Children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons. Children of parents of worthy character, suffering from temporary misfortune, and children of reasonably efficient and deserving mothers who are without the support of the normal bread-winner, should as a rule be kept with their own parents, such aid being given as may be necessary to maintain suitable homes for the rearing of children."[20]

Even during World War II when womanpower was so critically needed in defense-related industries, policies emanating from the federal agencies expressed official reluctance regarding the employment of mothers of young children. Mothers who remained at home to care for their children were seen as "performing an essential patriotic service in the defense program."[21]

Federal programs related to the early childhood years raise age-old questions regarding the role of the family vis-a-vis the state in the care and education of young children. In America, we have evolved a child protection doctrine that the removal of a child from the family is a last alternative. This has been reflected in decisions about who receives early education in this country and the kind of programs that are developed.

In legislation which has been brought before the U.S. Congress regarding federal involvement in the care of young children, a dominant theme has been the fear of the federal government as child rearer. Proposed federal legislation today still reflects the primacy of the family. In the Comprehensive Headstart, Child Development, and Family Services Act of 1972, the bill begins: "The Congress finds that child development programs must build upon the role of the family as the primary and the most fundamental influence on the development of children, and must be provided only to children whose parents or legal guardians request them."[22] Although the importance of the family in relation to the state has shifted slightly during the twentieth century, the primacy of the family has remained a major assumption in policy debates. In the past year (1976), the major national legislation concerning children's services (S.B. 626) was stymied by an organized and large protest based on accusations of its family weakening potential. This legislation never went to a vote of the Congress.

2. Recurring Themes in Early Childhood Education

These, then, are recurring themes in federal programs of early education:

1. Federal programs have been created in response to immediate social, political, and economic crisis. Related to this crisis intervention, programs are planned to be temporary in nature.

2. Federal programs are targeted toward special groups of children, specifically those in categories of distress, and not to all American children.

3. Federal programs of early education have been used as a means of broad social reform.

4. Federal policy has been intensely concerned with the primacy of the nuclear family as an agent of early childhood socialization.

These recurring themes reverberate through the existing structure of American early childhood education described in the following sections and in the policy debates (Part II).

C. THE STRUCTURE OF EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

1. Goals and Purposes

The historical continuity of goals for federally supported programs was described in the previous section. One limitation in discussing such goals is that they are often not reflected in the actual implementation of a given program. Goals can be divided into two broad categories, goals for children and goals which focus on other people or purposes, both of which are discussed below.

a. Goals for Children

(1) To foster the development of the "whole child"--intellectual, social, and emotional development. Although the emphasis on any one aspect of development has shifted over time, preschools prior to the compensatory programs of the sixties centered on social and emotional areas. The goals of the compensatory programs of the sixties, one of them being "innoculation" against school failure for the minority and low income child, led to increased emphasis on cognitive aspects of development. However, there is a trend back toward the social and emotional areas in the seventies.

(2) To socialize the child to become a productive and contributing member of the society. In addition to the child's development as an individual, early education programs focus on developing the child as a member of a group, which is believed to be an important prerequisite for successful economic and political integration.

(3) To prepare the child for compulsory level schooling. One aspect of the noncompensatory preschool was the development of values, behaviors, and expectations which would facilitate the child's "adjustment" to elementary schooling. The majority of early studies on the effects of preschool experience focused on comparing the adjustment of children with and without preschool experience.[23]

Early education programs directed toward children from low-income families were more explicit in their stated goals to compensate for assumed deficits in early experience and to develop school-appropriate skills in minority and low-income children. However, different programs actualized these goals in different ways.[24] In some, children were taught specifically to pay attention to the teacher, to express appropriate social greetings, and to sit quietly. In other programs, preparation for schooling meant the development of exploratory behavior, independence, and "joy in the learning process."

(4) To provide "comprehensive child development services." The concept of comprehensive services has been applied to ECE compensatory programs targeted to children from low-income backgrounds. Child development programs such as Headstart were conceived as more than purely

educational interventions and sought to improve other aspects of the child's life conditions, i.e., poverty, and development. Hence, services such as medical screening and treatment, nutritional or feeding programs, family counseling, social services, and parent education programs were conceived as integral programmatic components.

(5) To provide screening, diagnosis, and remedial services to children in special categories. A major category of ECE programs focuses on children with special categories of problems. These programs deal with children with physical and mental handicaps, i.e., "developmentally disabled," neglected and abused children, and children identified as "at risk." These categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive. An important goal for these ECE programs is to identify, at the earliest age possible, children who have special problems, and to provide appropriate treatment through a program often including parent counseling and education.

b. Nonchild-Targeted Goals. While ECE programs affect children directly through the provision of care and education, the discussion on historical perspectives suggested that their initiation arises from broader nonchild-targeted goals, including the needs of working mothers, the employment needs of low-income groups, intervention into family life, and the impetus for periodic social reform.

(1) To support mothers participation in the force. Publicly subsidized child care is provided primarily for women who are former, present, or potential recipients of federal assistance, or who have low incomes as determined by state-by-state eligibility criteria. Women in the middle and upper income levels are typically not eligible for publicly supported programs, and must pay all costs of child care. Thus, a dual standard regarding women's work can be said to exist. Poverty-level or low-income mothers are encouraged to work through the the child care incentive programs while other women often find it difficult to work because they must patch together a child care system by themselves.

(2) To provide work opportunities specifically for low-income individuals. The WPA Nursery Schools which were described in the section on historical perspectives were initiated to provide jobs for teachers and other unemployed individuals. Career opportunity programs in the sixties were designed to employ individuals from poverty and low-income backgrounds in Headstart and other ECE programs as aides. As a result, many of these individuals returned to school and moved up in the early education profession and related occupations (nursing, teaching, social work). Most recently, the Department of Labor has suggested that ECE programs employ individuals on welfare or from low-income backgrounds.

(3) To develop parenting competencies.[25] The development of parenting competencies expressed in educational policy is integrally related to an American belief that the family or parent are the child's first and most important educators. Often parent education is included as one of the components of an ECE program. However, in others, parent education or more specifically intervention to change mother-child

interaction is the primary goal of the program. Through the use of home visitors or educators, and programs at centers, parents are taught specific behaviors and strategies to influence their child's development. Information on developmental capacities, health care, behavior problems are also provided in group discussions, media and observations.

(4) To provide a basis for social reform. Early childhood education programs are also believed to serve compensatory goals of equalizing social and educational opportunity, especially for children from poverty backgrounds. As such, these programs are seen as a basis of social reform in the society. (See also section on HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES.)

2. Organizational and Administrative Patterns

In this section, the discussion is divided into three parts representing the different governmental levels involved in American education: federal, state, and local.[26] At each level, there is a diversity of organizational patterns, often leading to chaos at the local site level. The problems begin at the very top, at the federal level.

a. The Federal Level. A recent report of the U.S. Comptroller General describes what is called "the federal maze."[27] During the sixties, federal assistance programs proliferated and led to a fragmentation of organizational responsibilities. The Comptroller noted: "The federal assistance system was composed of a myriad of programs which were developed piecemeal, had inconsistent policy and administration, were often duplicative, and were sometimes in conflict with each other."[28] Since many federal programs were planned without regard to their impact on state and local needs and programs, the administration of a comprehensive local program is very difficult.

Although the Comptroller was describing federal programs in general, programs for children face similar problems. Table 2 summarizes the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Estimate of National Child Care funding for Fiscal Years 1974-75. Nine federal agencies, each with a number of specific programs, fund some aspect of child care and education. Of these, six agencies are directly involved in educational programs.[29] Figures 1-3 summarize key information on acts funding the major child care and education projects of the federal government.

While the preceding discussion focused on three programs with child care and educational purposes, it is evident from Table 2 and Figures 1-3 that services in addition to educational ones are provided to children and their families. Table 3* summarizes an attempt to understand how federal programs affect children. The cross-tabulations were based on the Appalachian Regional Commission's "Federal Programs for Young Children" (1970), the Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance (1971 and 1972), and assistance of HEW's Office of Planning and Evaluation (May 1972). The information was compiled by Sheldon H. White and his associates at the Huron Institute.[30]

Table 2

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE ESTIMATE OF NATIONAL CHILD CARE FUNDING, Fiscal Years 1974-1975

Federal Child Care Expenditures [1]

Agency program	Estimated Federal obligations (millions)		Child care years		Federal cost per child		Sources/assumptions
	Fiscal year 1974	Fiscal year 1975	Fiscal year 1974	Fiscal year 1975	Fiscal year 1974	Fiscal year 1975	
I. Department of Agriculture:							
Nonschool food service program:							
(a) Head Start	$13.3	$25.0	.....				Appendix to the U.S. budget, fiscal year 1975, p. 203. Number of children served and "other year round" NSFS obligations provided by USDA budget staff. Estimates include food service to preschool children in Head Start and other year round preschool programs and exclude summer service to school-aged children.
(b) Other year round	30.0	34.0	.....				
USDA total	43.3	59.0	278,000	559,000	$156	$106	
II. Appalachian Regional Commission: Child development program.	12.3	12.3	145,000	145,000	85	85	ARC. Estimate reflects a 40-percent increase in program level for fiscal year 1974 and fiscal year 1975.
III. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare:							
Aid to families with dependent children;							
IV-A—Social services:							
Employment related	325.0	[3] 341.3	368,063	[3] 386,466	883	883	Community Services Administration (CSA/SRS). Obligation figure is a central office estimate based on assumed 25-percent increase over fiscal year 1973. Cost per child is a central office estimate based on 5-percent increase over fiscal year 1973 unit cost. Estimates assume proportion of child care to total budget request will remain the same in fiscal year 1974.
Nonemployment related	139.3	[3] 146.3	157,758	[3] 165,685	883	883	See IV-A—Social services employment related (above).
IV-A—Special needs	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	CSA/SRS. Limited data from regions obtained prior to 1969 suggest expenditures may exceed $50,000,000.
IV-A—Income disregard	85.0	[3] 89.3	200,000	[3] 210,000	425	425	CSA/SRS. Fiscal year 1974 estimates reflect projections based on information supplied by half the States in a child care survey, fiscal year 1971.
IV-A—Work incentive	45.0	[3] 47.3	75,350	[3] 79,118	597	598	CSA/SRS. Fiscal year 1974 figures taken from central office program level estimate.

Agency program	Estimated Federal obligations (millions) Fiscal year 1974	Estimated Federal obligations (millions) Fiscal year 1975	Child care years Fiscal year 1974	Child care years Fiscal year 1975	Federal cost per child Fiscal year 1974	Federal cost per child Fiscal year 1975	Sources/assumptions
IV-B—Child Welfare	1.8	1.8	19,000	19,000	95	95	CSA/SRS. Central office estimate. Though this program has declined in scope since fiscal year 1971, Federal involvement remains stable. Estimates of children served are based on HEW trend data from child welfare statistics fiscal year 1968-69 (NCCS report CW-1, tables 6+32).
Head Start	392.1	430.0	379,000	379,000	1,034	1,135	Appendices to the U.S. budget, fiscal year 1975 p. 465; include goods, services, and administrative costs.
Office of Education	48.9	51.3	138,909	145,854	352	352	Office of Education, NCES. Estimate for fiscal year 1974 taken directly from NCES, national summary tables for fiscal year 1972 released May 20, 1974 (table 1, Matrix 02 and table 20, Matrix 21). Fiscal year 1975 estimates assume a 5-percent increase in funding level attributable to inflation. Both estimates assume stability of program level for numbers of children served and include preschool components of all OE programs. Calculations assume that unit expenditure is the same for children above and below primary school entrance line and extrapolates from number of kindergarten and prekindergarten children participating in subsidized programs to reach funding levels.
HEW total	1,037.1	1,107.3	1,338,080	1,385,123	775	799	
IV. Department of Housing and Urban Development:							
Indoor community facilities program							HUD. Program discontinued.
Model Cities	14.2	6.7	28,400	13,400	500	500	HUD. Model Cities program is being phased out. Estimates for number of children served are based on HUD survey showing unit cost of $500 per child.
Neighborhood facilities	NA		NA		NA		HUD. Program to be discontinued in fiscal year 1975.
Tenant services grant program	NA		NA		NA		Do.
HUD total	14.2	6.7	28,400	13,400	500	500	
V. Department of Interior:							
Indian child welfare assistance	5.4	6.5	3,600	3,600	1,500	1,806	DOI.
Kindergarten program for Indian children in Federal schools.	2.0	2.0	4,300	4,300	465	465	DOI. Includes operational costs only
Parent-child development program (preschool).	.6	.6	200	200	3,000	3,000	DOI. Includes operations, construction and equipment.
Johnson O'Malley—Program of aid for public schools (kindergarten for reservation Indian children).	2.2	2.2	NA	NA	NA	NA	DOI. Program scope has increased since fiscal year 1973 to include K-12.
DOI total	10.2	11.3	8,100	8,100	1,259	1,395	
VI. Department of Labor: [3]							
Concentrated employment program (CEP).	10.0	10.0	NA	NA	NA	NA	DHEW estimate extrapolated from fiscal year 1970 data.
Out of school work support	5.0	6.0	NA	NA	NA	NA	DOL/Manpower Administration.
Migrants	1.3	1.6	NA	NA	NA	NA	Do.
Public Service Careers (PSC)							DOL/Manpower Administration. Program has been discontinued.
DOL total	16.3	17.6	NA	NA	NA	NA	

Federal Child Care Expenditures [1]—Continued

Agency program	Estimated Federal obligations (millions) Fiscal year 1974	Fiscal year 1975	Child care years Fiscal year 1974	Fiscal year 1975	Federal cost per child Fiscal year 1974	Fiscal year 1975	Sources/assumptions
VII. Office of Economic Opportunity: Assistance for migrants and seasonal farmworkers (EOA III-B).							OEO/special programs staff. Transferred to Labor Department in fiscal year 1974.
Community action program (225 local initiative funds).[4]	2.4	2.4	NA	NA	NA	NA	OEO/special programs staff.
VIII. Small Business Administration	3.8	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	SBA. Includes 82 business loans for construction, new buildings, and renovation of existing facilities housing day-care centers, group day care, Head Start, nursery schools, and preschool centers.
IX. Department of the Treasury: Internal Revenue Service, child care deductions.	208.6	208.6	NA	NA	NA	NA	Derived from IRS projection for 1974 based on tax returns for 1972 (cf. Table 41, p. 103) and from resultant reduction in tax liability as estimated (for 1972) by Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation (cf. Table 40, p. 102). Estimate assumes child care equals 90 percent of total deductions for dependent care.
Total Federal child care expenditures.	1,348.2	1,425.2	1,797,580	2,110,623	1,117	1,039	

Non-Federal Contributions to Federally Supported Child Care Programs

Agency program	State matching share (millions) Fiscal year 1974	Fiscal year 1975	Local share Fiscal year 1974	Fiscal year 1975	Private 3d party Fiscal year 1974	Fiscal year 1975	Sources/assumptions
I. Department of Agriculture: Nonschool food service program.	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	USDA.
II. Appalachian Regional Commission	$4.1	$4.1	(5)	(5)	NA	NA	HEW estimate extrapolated from ARC estimates of Federal expenditures. This figure reflects combined State and local funding, assumes 75-percent Federal share. That assumption results in an overestimate since some ARC programs are still at 100-percent Federal funding.
III. Department of Health, Education and Welfare:							
IV-A—Social services: Employment related	108.3	113.7	NA	NA	NA	NA	CSA/SRS.
Nonemployment related	46.4	48.7	NA	NA	NA	NA	CSA/SRS.
IV-A—Special needs	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	CSA/SRS.
IV-A—Income disregard	56.7	59.5	NA	NA	NA	NA	CSA/SRS.
IV-A—Work incentive	5.0	5.3	NA	NA	NA	NA	CSA/SRS.
Child welfare	19.2	19.2	(5)	(5)	NA	NA	CSA/SRS.
Head Start	98.0	107.5	(5)	(5)	NA	NA	HEW Budget Office.
Office of Education: Early childhood programs.	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	OE. No state/local match requirements.
HEW total	333.6	353.9					

IV. Department of Housing and Urban development.	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	HUD. Some Model Cities funds are used in state match for title IV-A expenditures. No local match requirements.
V. Department of the Interior.....	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	DOT/Bureau of Indian Affairs.
VI. Department of Labor:							
Out of school work support.....	.6	.7	NA	NA	NA	NA	DOL.
Migrants.....	.1	.2	NA	NA	NA	NA	DOL.
DOL total.....	.7	.9	.....				
VII. Office of Economic Opportunity: Community Action Program.	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	OEO.
VIII. Small Business Administraion.....	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	SBA.
Total non-Federal contributions to federally supported child care programs.	338.4	358.9	.....				

[1] Expenditures for the following are excluded even though some may provide full or part-day child care:
(a) Grants for training educational and/or day care personnel.
(b) Research and development funds.
(c) Administrative grants.
(d) Health program funds for children.
(e) Summer programs for teenagers.
(f) Programs for teenagers before and after school (Neighborhood Youth Corps, Department of Interior recreation programs).
(g) Grants to school systems for postkindergarten children.
(h) Parent training and home intervention programs (e.g. Department of Agriculture extension programs for improved family living).

[2] Fiscal 1975 estimates assume stability of program level for title IV-A programs (Federal outlays benefitting the poor, summary tables HEW/ASPE/OS, March 1974) with a token 5-percent increase over fiscal year 1974 funding (SRS central office estimate).

[3] All Department of Labor programs have been consolidated into a revenue sharing program beginning fiscal year 1975. Fiscal year 1975 estimates thus represent a best estimate as to how States will apportion that money rather than allocation for specific programs.

[4] OEO local initiative funds have been transferred to the States under revenue sharing.

[5] Included in State share.

NA=Not available.

Source: Table prepared by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

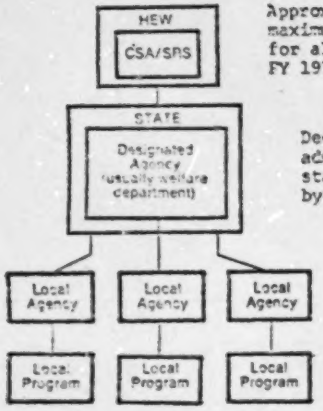
Source: U. S. Senate, Committee on Finance, Child Care. Data and Materials. (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1974), pp. 70-77.

Source: AFT Task Force on Educational Issues. Putting Early Childhood and Day Care Services into the Public School, Winter 1976, p. 33.

Figure 1

SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Title XX — Social Service Program



Approximately $2.5 billion maximum total for all states for all services under Title XX, FY 1976

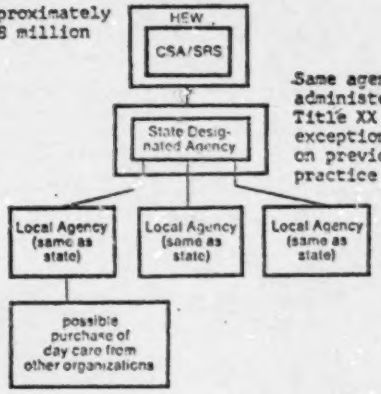
Decision on which state agency administers is left to the state--decision probably made by governor

KEY POINTS

1. Title XX replaces the social services portion of Title IV-A of SSA. It provides many services, most of which have nothing to do with day care.
2. Under Title XX the state comes up with a total program to fit general federal goals. There are no mandated childcare services. Within the goals, what happens is up to the states. It replaces a categorical funding approach with a block grants approach similar to revenue sharing. The federal role in defining programs is diminished and the state role is enhanced.
3. Under Title XX it is impossible to know how much will actually be spent for day care.
4. Services provided by the public schools are specifically excluded from receiving federal monies.
5. There are no limitations on kinds of eligible operators except that the Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements plus specific child/adult ratios apply.
6. Provision of educational services by day care centers is optional.
7. In order to receive federal funds states are expected to match the federal efforts on a 75%-25% basis.
8. At least 50% of federal funds must be spent on services to individuals currently receiving or eligible to receive public assistance or Medicaid.

Title IV-B — Child Welfare Services

Approximately $48 million

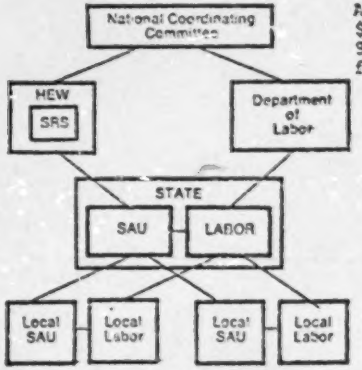

HEW
CSA/SRS
State Designated Agency
Local Agency (same as state)
Local Agency (same as state)
Local Agency (same as state)
possible purchase of day care from other organizations

Same agency as administers Title XX with some exceptions based on previous practice

KEY PROVISIONS

1. Three-fourths of the money is used to employ child welfare workers who develop and license day care facilities and help working mothers plan for day care.
2. States may use this money to operate day care centers and help families pay for day care.
3. States may purchase day care from other organizations.
4. Services to children do not require income, residency or other eligibility requirements.
5. Provision of educational services by day care centers is optional.
6. The total funding is apportional among states on the basis of child population.
7. Each state is expected to match federal funds at a rate varying from 2:1 to 1:2, which is determined by the state per capita income.

Title IV-C — Work Incentive Program



Approximately $47 million. 90% federal funds. 10% state funds.

KEY PROVISIONS

1. WIN is designed to aid mothers on AFDC in obtaining manpower training and employment. Its day care component, which provides child care services to enrolees, is administered by HEW. Because it is eligible to AFDC mothers only, it represents a means test approach.
2. Three-fourths of child care being provided under WIN is provided in the child's own home rather than child care facilities.
3. More than half of the children provided for are over 6 and therefore need care only part of the day during the regular school year.

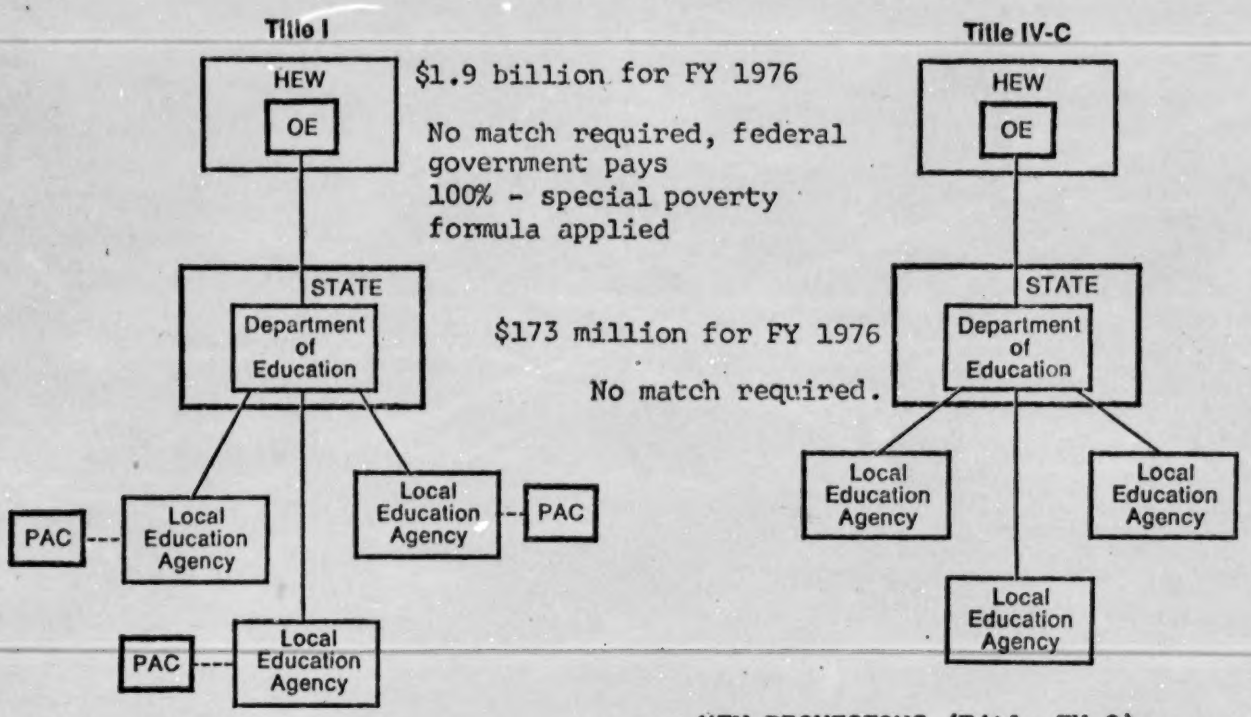
KEY

HEW - Department of Health, Education and Welfare
SRS - Social and Rehabilitation Service
CSA - Community Services Administration
SAU - Separate Administrative Unit

Note: Office of Child Development staff were consulted in preparing the diagrams in this section and obtaining funding figures.

Figure 2

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT



KEY PROVISIONS (Title I)

- o Title I funds have been used mainly for public school programs serving educationally deprived students. These funds are intended to supplement state and local efforts and may be used for pre-school programs.
- o Determination of how funds are to be spent is made at the local level. They may be used for any purpose which will help the child educationally including food, clothing, transportation, medical care, staff training, etc.
- o Title I funds may be used in place of Head Start funds.
- o About 7% of Title I funds have been used for pre-school programs.
- o Title I also provides special funds for migrant children.
- o Parent Advisory Councils must give input to the education agency in designing programs.

KEY PROVISIONS (Title IV-C)

1. Grants go through the states for a variety of innovative and exemplary programs including day care programs which stress cultural enrichment activities and which provide health, psychological and social services. Funds are also provided to programs or projects which contribute to the solution of critical problems.

KEY

OE - Office of Education
PAC - Parent Advisory Committee

Source: AFT Task Force on Educational Issues. Putting Early Childhood and Day Care Services into the Public School, Winter 1976, p. 37.

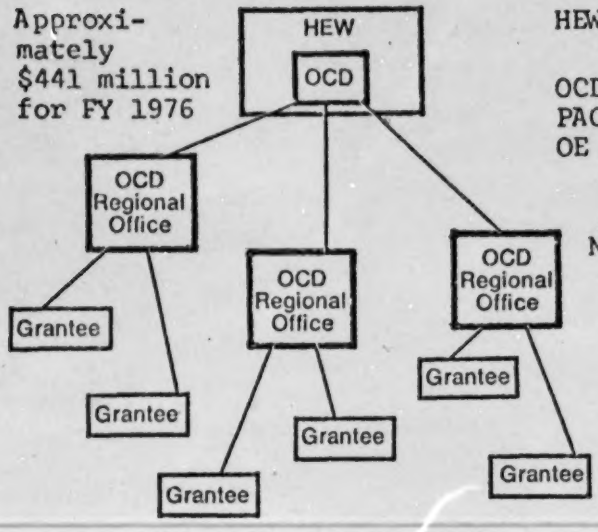
Note: Office of Child Development staff were consulted in forming the diagrams for this section and in obtaining funding figures.

Figure 3

HEAD START ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AND COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIP ACT

HEAD START

Approximately $441 million for FY 1976



KEY

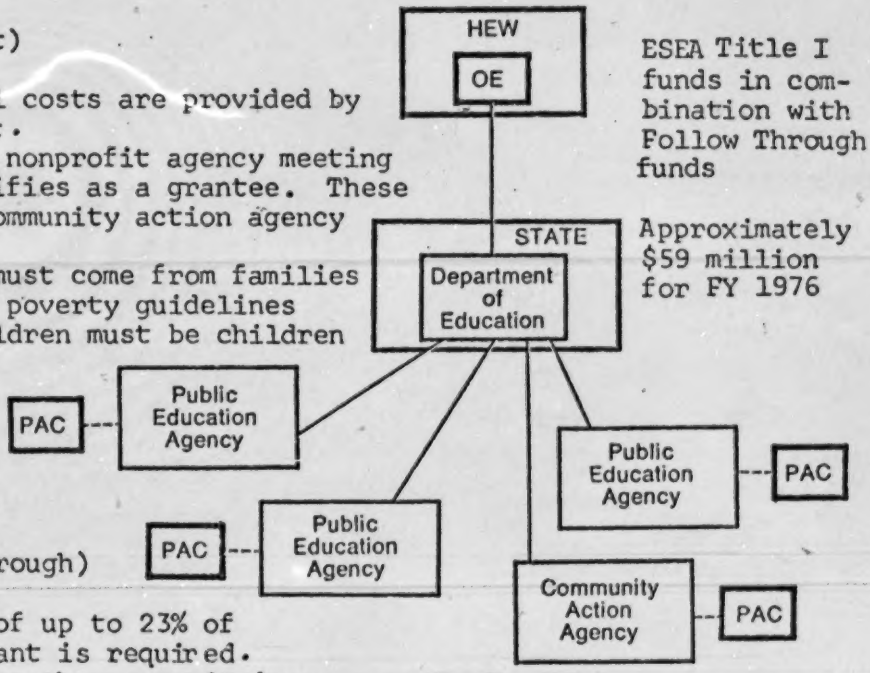
HEW - Department of Health, Education and Welfare
OCD - Office of Child Development
PAC - Policy Advisory Committee
OE - Office of Education

NOTE: Office of Child Development staff were consulted in forming the diagrams in this section and obtaining funding figures.

KEY PROVISIONS (Head Start)

1. Up to 80% of the total costs are provided by the federal government.
2. Any public or private nonprofit agency meeting the requirements qualifies as a grantee. These will usually be the community action agency where they exist.
3. 90% of the enrollees must come from families whose income is below poverty guidelines
4. 10% of Head Start children must be children with handicaps.

FOLLOW THROUGH



ESEA Title I funds in combination with Follow Through funds

Approximately $59 million for FY 1976

KEY PROVISIONS (Follow Through)

1. A local contribution of up to 23% of the Follow Through Grant is required.
2. Eligibility is based on the community's sponsorship of a full year Head Start or other preschool program.
3. At least half the Follow Through children must be graduates of a full year Head Start or similar preschool program.
4. Follow Through provides a comprehensive program including health and nutrition as well as instruction.
5. Parent participation is a basic part of the program. Applications must be coordinated with a local policy advisory committee.

Source:

AFT Task Force on Educational Issues. Putting Early Childhood and Day Care Services into the Public School, Winter 1976, p. 36.

In compiling this information, White and his associates pointed to three deficiencies in the data base, which are revealing of the nature of the federal role.[31] First, the number of actual and potential beneficiaries of each program cannot be determined. Second, since programs often affect more than children and the child component cannot be parceled out, resource commitment to children themselves could not be established. Finally, there was an inability to differentiate services delivered to children from those delivered to adults, and to distinguish services which benefited children in the context of health and nutritional programs. This situation is related to two additional problems in determining the delivery of children's services. A common problem is that authorization of funds may not result in actual delivery of services. Furthermore, programs which do not specifically have children as targets, may influence the quality of their lives and development, e.g., housing programs for low-income families.

In summary, the planning and funding of children's services at the federal level are characterized by a proliferation of programs which are not planned and coordinated with state and local ones. There is no centralized agency for coordinating early education programs at the federal level The effects at the state level, and problems shared with the federal level will be described in the next section.

b. The State Level--Patterns of Diversity. In the American system, the individual state assumes responsibility for the education of its citizens, resulting in a diversity of educational patterns. Early childhood education is no exception. Table 4* presents a state-by-state summary of funding patterns, including information on requirements for funding prekindergarten and kindergarten programs, total state and per pupil expenditures for fiscal years 1974 and 1975, and other state-supported services to preprimary children.

The most common method of funding kindergartens is through the state foundation formula. Forty-six of the states provide some state aid to kindergartens. On the other hand, only 11 states (California, Georgia, Maine, Massachusetts, Missouri, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Vermont, Washington, and West Virginia) provide some state funding for prekindergarten programs.

Table 5* presents information on administrative agencies at the state level which are responsible for kindergarten and prekindergarten programs. Coordinative mechanisms between agencies, if they exist, are described. Finally, the number of state programs for personnel development including colleges and community colleges with programs in early childhood education are shown.

Forty-two of the 48 responding states in the Education Commission of the States survey (1974-75) administered public kindergartens through the state (39) or local (3) education agency. However, there were a variety of state agencies involved at the prekindergarten level, typically departments of education, mental health, health, social services, welfare,

labor, agriculture, child care coordinating councils, organizations, LEA's, community action programs (CAP) and interagency councils. In 1975, 14 states had a State Office of Child Development or an administrative body to coordinate children's services, including early education. However, in general, state services for children remain fragmented, often overlapping, while different state agencies compete for control of funds, programs, and certification. As at the federal level, issues of planning, coordination, and delivery systems remain to be solved.

c. The Local Level--Fragmentation of Administrative Arrangements. The preceding discussion of federal and state organization of early childhood programs should suggest arrangements at the local level to accommodate the complexities of federal and state policies and administration. A graphic presentation of child care activities in the District of Columbia (See Figure 4) captures the fragmentation of administrative arrangements at the local level. As can be seen in Figure 4, the District of Columbia public school system is 1 of 5 local administering agencies for child care programs. Each local agency receives funds from different federal programs and agencies which administer similar programs. To show a slightly different perspective on the local level, Figure 5 depicts how a local school system pieced together funds to support its early childhood education project from 4 federal programs, each with differing guidelines, objectives, grant periods, and administrative procedures and controls. This situation is not an unusual one, but attests to the grantsmanship skills which are involved in operating an early childhood program at the local level.

The problems described for federal and state levels result in many others at the local level. Since this is the level at which children are most directly affected, the problems are worth noting. Contributing to a fragmented delivery system is the multiplicity of narrowly defined programs such that the local planners must combine several federal assistance programs to meet their goals. Since each assistance program has its own requirements, local sites have difficulties in delivering a comprehensive and flexible program to children. Within the same community, programs for children are often separately funded and administered resulting in both overlaps and gaps in services. That is, some children receive a wide variety of services while others eligible receive none. As a consequence of (being) local programs funded in this manner, children often receive a variety of services which are not coordinated and continuous throughout the early childhood years.

In addition, federal funds for early education programs are not distributed on a common basis within states, e.g., the use of categorial versus block grants. While some funds are specifically targeted toward special categories of children, e.g., handicapped, abused, others can be used for a broader range of children. In a matching funds system, some states use their child care funds fully (and could use more), while others do not. All of these factors contribute to the complexity, if not impossibility, of coordinating children's services at the community level. Child advocacy groups and individuals often work on similar

Figure 4

Source: Comptroller General of the United States, Fundamental Changes Are Needed in Federal Assistance to State and Local Governments, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 59.

CHILD-CARE ACTIVITIES IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

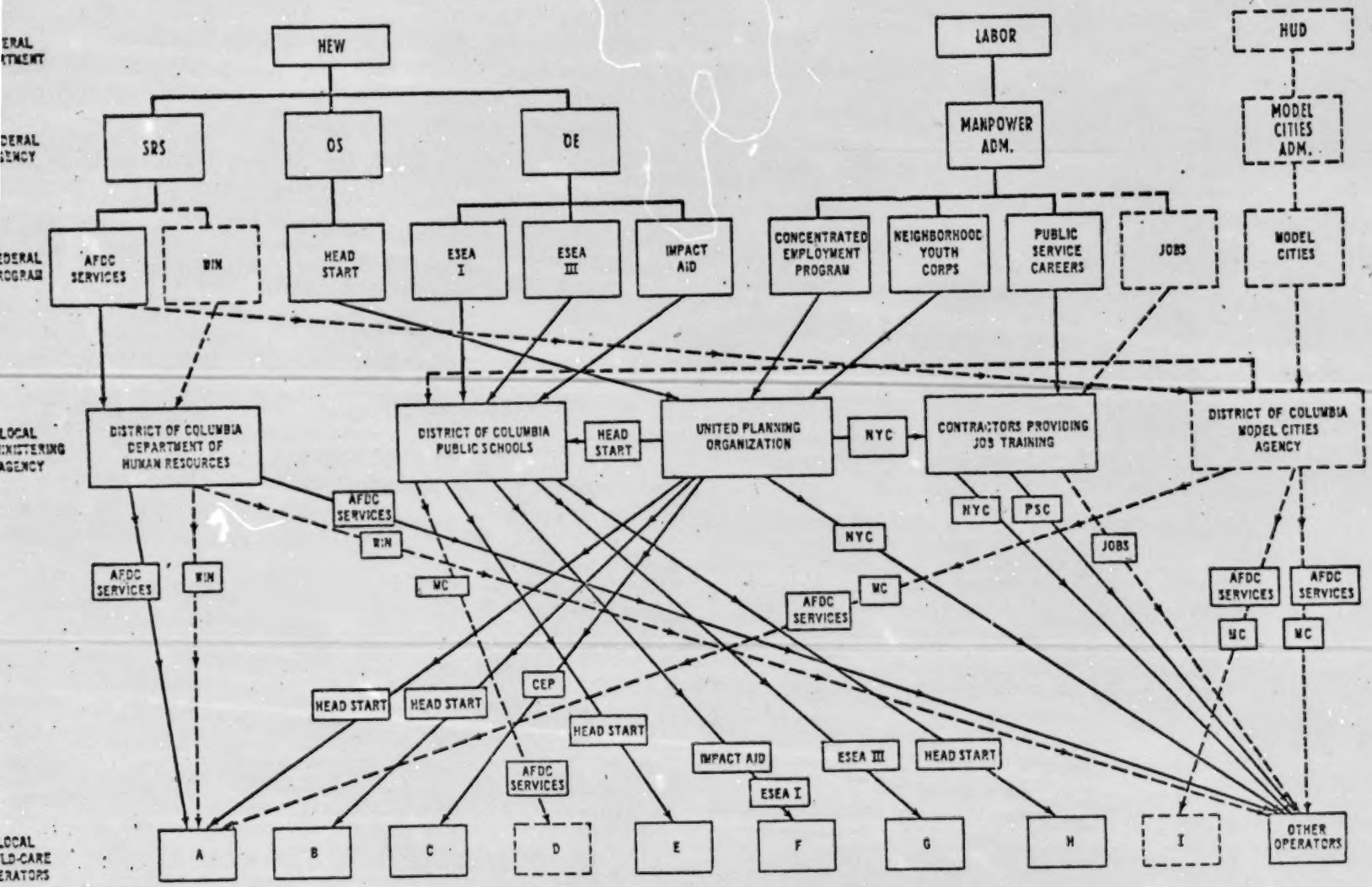
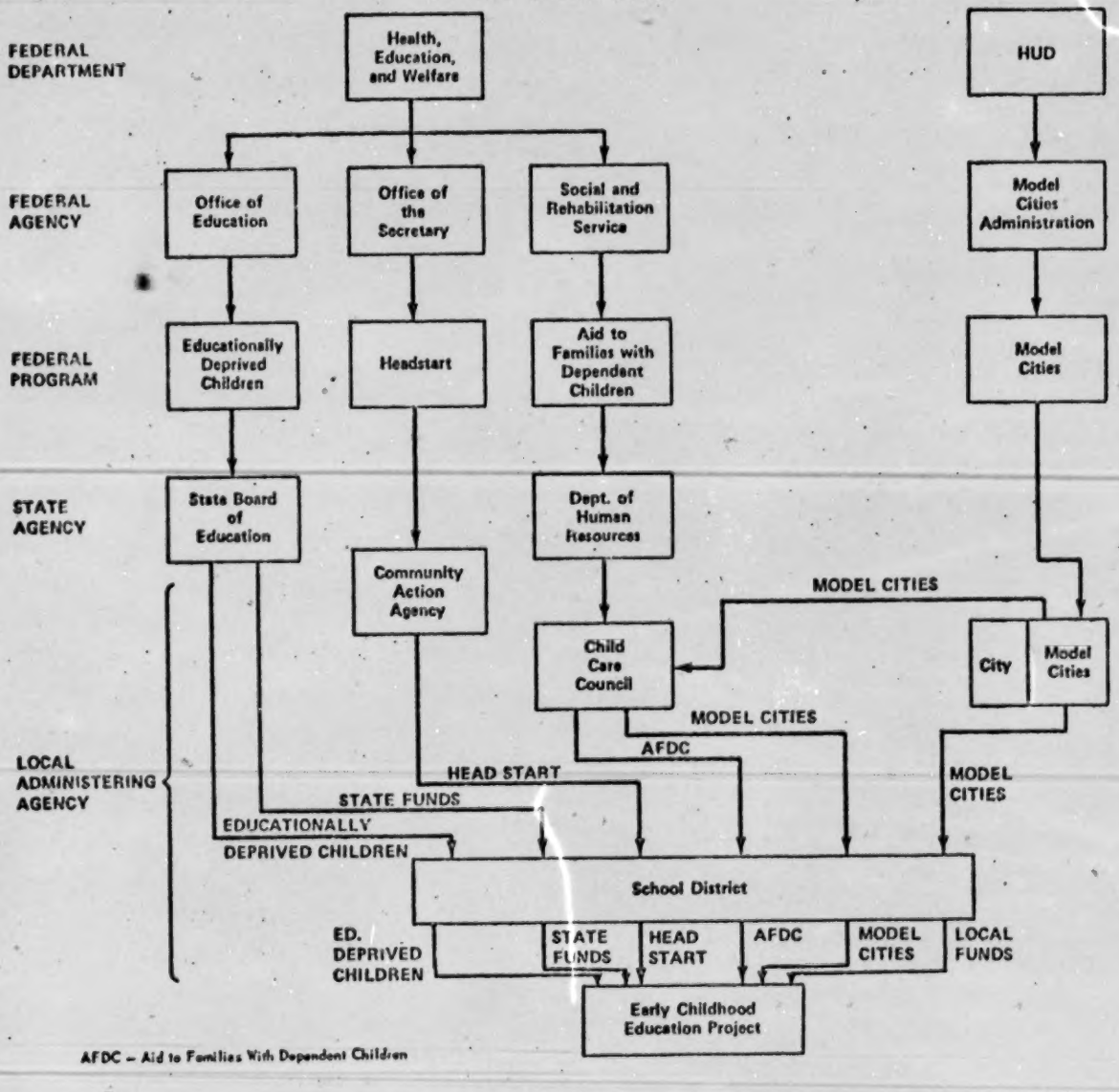


Figure 5

The Funding of an Early Childhood Education Project at the Local Level



Source: Comptroller General of the United States, Fundamental Changes Are Needed in Federal Assistance to State and Local Governments, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), p. 43.

issues in the same community unaware of what others are doing. Even for those who are attempting coordination, the task is monumental.

3. Enrollment Patterns

Enrollment statistics on American early childhood education are difficult to obtain. According to our definition of early education, 3 age spans (birth to 3 years, 3 to 5 years, and 5 to 8 years, the last two corresponding to existing schooling units) can be identified. First, enrollment statistics on the age span from birth to 3 years of age are virtually nonexistent despite the fact that programs for this age group, specifically infant and toddler programs, have been increasing during the last five years. While the number of children in these programs may appear as part of the prekindergarten count when they are part of the public school system, no separate reporting system for this age span exists at present.

For the age span 3 to 5 years, the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES) has been collecting preprimary enrollment data since 1964. However, these data cover only children in prekindergarten and kindergarten classes, including Headstart, in public or nonpublic schools. Day care enrollment is not included. NCES also publishes information on local public school systems including breakdowns for prekindergarten and kindergarten enrollments (see Tables A-M*).

The last age span--5 to 8 years of age--is typically included in enrollment figures for elementary students, ranging from Grade 1 to Grades 6 or 8, depending upon the specific school district. Thus, the elementary enrollment data cannot be used for our purposes.

Given these limitations, the following discussion on enrollment patterns is based on NCES data. First, the preprimary enrollment data will be described, thus presenting an overall picture of the American situation. Then enrollment patterns for early childhood education programs located within American public school systems will be described. Enrollment figures for the major compensatory early education programs will also be presented. Finally, Department of Labor statistics on children in different day care arrangements will be described.

a. Preprimary Enrollment--The National Picture. Based on the October 1974 Census data, the percentage of children 3 to 5 years old enrolled in preprimary programs increased from 29.4% (3,674,000 children) in 1969, to 45.2% (4,699,000 children) in 1974. This increase occurred despite a net loss in the population of this age group of 2,075,000 in the same period. The preprimary enrollment rate was highest among 5-year-olds (78.6%) with 37.6% and 19.9% for the 4- and 3-year-olds respectively (see Table 6). More than 80% of the children were in kindergartens sponsored by public institutions. However, at the prekindergarten level, 75% of the children were in nonpublic schools (Table 6). There was little difference in the 1974 enrollment rates of White and Black

Table 6

Population and preprimary enrollment of children 3 to 5 years old, by level, control of program, age, and race: United States, October 1974

(Numbers in thousands)

Age and race*	Number in population	Enrolled in preprimary			Enrolled in prekindergarten			Enrolled in kindergarten		
		Total	Public	Nonpublic	Total	Public	Nonpublic	Total	Public	Nonpublic
Total 3 – 5 years	10,393	4,699	3,001	1,698	1,603	422	1,182	3,096	2,580	516
White	8,667	3,941	2,427	1,514	1,337	291	1,046	2,604	2,135	469
Other races	1,726	759	575	184	266	130	136	492	445	48
(Black)	(1,547)	(678)	(526)	(152)	(227)	(121)	(106)	(451)	(405)	(46)
3 years	3,450	685	178	506	650	159	492	34	20	15
White	2,866	560	118	442	539	108	431	21	9	12
Other races	584	125	61	64	112	50	61	13	10	3
(Black)	(515)	(99)	(56)	(43)	(86)	(45)	(41)	(13)	(10)	(3)
4 years	3,516	1,322	543	778	865	229	636	457	314	143
White	2,938	1,098	402	696	734	163	571	364	239	125
Other races	578	224	142	82	131	67	64	93	75	18
(Black)	(515)	(201)	(128)	(73)	(118)	(63)	(55)	(83)	(65)	(18)
5 years	3,426	2,693	2,280	413	88	34	54	2,605	2,246	359
White	2,863	2,283	1,907	376	65	20	44	2,219	1,887	332
Other races	564	410	373	37	23	13	10	387	359	27
(Black)	(517)	(379)	(343)	(36)	(23)	(13)	(10)	(355)	(330)	(26)
		Enrolled as percent of population								
Total 3 – 5 years		45.2	28.9	16.3	15.4	4.1	11.4	29.8	24.8	5.0
White		45.5	28.0	17.5	15.4	3.4	12.1	30.0	24.6	5.4
Other races		44.0	33.3	10.6	15.4	7.5	7.9	28.5	25.8	2.8
Black		43.9	34.0	9.8	14.7	7.9	6.9	29.2	26.2	3.0
3 years		19.8	5.2	14.7	18.9	4.6	14.3	1.0	.6	.4
White		19.5	4.1	15.4	18.8	3.8	15.0	.7	.3	.4
Other races		21.4	10.4	11.0	19.1	8.6	10.5	2.2	1.8	.5
Black		19.2	10.8	8.4	16.7	8.8	7.9	2.5	2.0	.5
4 years		37.6	15.5	22.1	24.6	6.5	18.1	13.0	8.9	4.1
White		37.4	13.7	23.7	25.0	5.5	19.4	12.4	8.1	4.3
Other races		38.7	24.5	14.2	22.7	11.5	11.1	16.0	13.0	3.1
Black		39.0	24.8	14.2	22.9	12.2	10.7	16.1	12.6	3.5
5 years		78.6	66.5	12.1	2.6	1.0	1.6	76.0	65.6	10.5
White		79.7	66.6	13.1	2.3	.7	1.5	77.5	65.9	11.6
Other races		72.8	66.1	6.6	4.2	2.3	1.8	68.6	63.8	4.8
Black		73.2	66.3	6.9	4.5	2.5	2.0	68.7	63.7	4.9

*Numbers shown for "Black" are also included in "other races."
NOTE: Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

Source: Irene A. King, Preprimary Enrollment, October 1974, National Center for Education Statistics. (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1975), p. 10.

3- to 5-year-old children, with some differences specifically at the 5-year-old level (see Table 6). The majority of the enrolled Black 3- to 5-year-olds were in public programs (prekindergarten--7.9%; kindergarten--26.2%). Among the same White age group, 3.4% attended public prekindergarten programs and 24.6% at the kindergarten level.

As shown in Table 7*, there are regional variations in preprimary enrollment patterns with the lowest rate in the South (43.1%) and the highest in the West (47.2%).[32] The low rate in the South is directly attributable to the small number of public kindergartens in that region. Enrollment rates of 3- and 4-year-olds in the South were comparable to other regions in the country. Children residing in metropolitan areas outside cities composed a larger segment of preprimary enrollment (50.1%) than did children living in central cities (47.0%) or children living in nonmetropolitan areas (37.8%) (see Table 8*). While the differences in enrollment rates between "metropolitan, central" and "metropolitan, other" are small, there is considerably less enrollment in the nonmetropolitan areas due to the relative nonavailability of preprimary programs there.

Because one of the goals of federal investment in early childhood education has been to counteract the effects of poverty, NCES has looked at enrollment figures from the viewpoint of family income, occupation and education of household head. The October 1974 data summarized in Table 9* indicate that the highest enrollment among 3- to 5-year-olds was found among families earning $10,000 or more a year (51.4%). There was little difference among enrollment rates of children in the family income levels below $10,000. Family income appeared to be a more critical factor in the enrollment of children 3 to 4 years old. Among 3- and 4-year-olds the rate was nearly twice as high for the $10,000 or more category as for the categories below. NCES suggests that the greater number of tuitioned nonpublic kindergarten programs compared to public and free ones probably contributed to the higher enrollment rates among 3- and 4-year-old children from families earning $10,000 or more.

The enrollment rate is also related to the occupation and education of the household head (see Table 10*). Among white collar families, the rate of 3- to 5-year-olds was 55.8%. Enrollment rates are lowest in families where the head was employed in a farming occupation (28.9%). Rates were 37.7% for families where the household head was unemployed or not in the labor force, and 39.9% where the household head was engaged in a manual or service occupation. Rates increase with each additional level of education achieved by the household head.

More than three-fourths of the children enrolled attended programs only part of the day (see Table 11*). This is due to the fact that most kindergarten and preschool programs are half-day ones. Children may attend day care programs if their mothers are working. As the age of the child increases, he or she will be less likely to be enrolled in a full-day session. Full-day enrollment rates for all preprimary children were higher for Black than for White children.

In summary, the 1975 NCES report notes: "The child most likely to be enrolled in a preprimary program was 5 years old, from a white collar, college-educated family with an annual income of $10,000 or more, in a metropolitan area in the West. The child least likely to be enrolled was 3 years old, from a farm family with an annual income of $3,000 or less in the South, and in which the household head had no education beyond the eighth grade."[33]

Since a major thrust of federal involvement in early childhood education has been "equal opportunity" through providing preschool programs for low-income children, it is important to ask to what extent this goal has been achieved. Based on the October, 1965 NCES Survey of preprimary enrollment, Samuel Schloss reported: "Project Headstart, the federal preschool program for needy children, which was carried out so successfully in the summer of 1965 apparently has little effect on the size of nursery and kindergarten enrollments when the regular school year began in the fall."[34] The finding which appears consistently in later NCES reports is that attendance at each age level greatly favored children who came from middle-class and from above family backgrounds than children from "poverty" backgrounds.[35]

Much more research is needed to answer the question of who benefits in the long term from early education programs especially under conditions when federal funding tends to dwindle after the peak of crisis. While the Headstart programs did temporarily benefit low-income families, the aid was not sustained. In 1970, 5 years after the debut of Headstart, the National Center survey indicated at each age level, private schools served a larger proportion of preschool children than did publicly financed ones.

In their survey of day care and preschool services, Ronald Parker and Jane Knitzer concluded: "A two-pronged pattern reflecting economic and racial stratification has evolved. Proportionately fewer poor children are enrolled in any kind of service than are children from affluent families. White children are more likely to be enrolled in preschool programs, and minority group children are more likely to be enrolled in day care programs. Federal involvement in preschool and child care is directed primarily at serving children of the poor. In actual numbers, only a small percentage of this group is reached."[36] The NCES October, 1974 data are consistent with their conclusions.

b. Preprimary Enrollment in Local Public School Systems.

(1) National Picture. Based on fall, 1971 national estimates, derived from the fifth Elementary-Secondary General Information System, prekindergarten children comprised 0.1% of the total public school enrollments (51,027 children) (see Tables A* and B*). Prekindergarten programs are unique to large urban districts. These estimates indicate that 2.0% of public school systems offered prekindergarten programs (see Table D*). The size of the district is a significant factor (see Tables A* and C*). Districts with more than 25,000 students, enrolled 67.5% (34,427 children) in public prekindergarten programs. Districts with

2,500-4,999 students had 2.4% (1,236 children) of the national prekindergarten enrollments. In school districts with less than 300 students, there are no prekindergarten programs. Finally, there are significant differences by region of the country. The North Atlantic region had 47.2% of the national prekindergarten enrollment and the Southeast region only 4.6% (see Table C*).[37]

In fall, 1971, 64.1% of the nation's public school systems offered a kindergarten program (see Table D*). Kindergarten pupils (2,458,128) accounted for 5.3% of the total national enrollment (see Tables A* and B*). As with prekindergarten programs, the size of the school system was related to kindergarten offerings (see Table D*). In systems with greater than 25,000 students, 9 out of 10 had kindergarten programs, while in systems with less than 300 students, 3 out of 10 had programs. As with prekindergarten programs, there were regional differences with 36.9% of the kindergarten enrollments in the Great Lakes and Plains Region[38] and 7.6% in the Southeast region (see Table C*). Fifteen of our 50 states make it mandatory for local communities to provide kindergartens (1976). Prekindergarten and kindergarten programs were almost nonexistent in the southeastern states of Georgia and Mississippi.

Prekindergarten teachers represent 0.1% of the total classroom teachers in the public school system, and 0.2% of the total elementary school teachers. Most of these teachers, consistent with the location of the programs, are in large school systems of more than 25,000 children (see Table E*).

Table M* presents pupil/teacher ratios (PTR) in local public school systems in prekindergarten and kindergarten levels which typically operate on 2 shifts per day. Hence, the PTR should be divided by a factor of 2 to derive the estimate of PTR at these 2 levels. In the United States as a whole PTR's for prekindergarten and kindergarten classes are 12.9 and 19.9 respectively.

In summary, prekindergarten and kindergarten programs in public school systems are largely an urban phenomenon. Given the total enrollment of the American public school/education system, children in these programs represent a very small percentage (5.4% or 2,509,155 children).

(2) Compensatory Programs.

(a) Headstart. Headstart, the compensatory early education program, began in 1965, and served 118,347 children in full-year, full-day programs at a federal cost of $123.2 million in fiscal year 1973 (see Table 12*). Although the average federal cost per child was $1,041, this figure varied from a low of $69 in Vermont to a high of $2,222 in New York. Federal law requires that 90% of the children enrolled come from poor families, and that 10% be children with handicaps.

In fiscal year 1975, 288,000 children were served in full-year centers at the cost of $414 million.

(b) Follow Through. Follow Through is a program for children in grades K-3 designed to provide continuity for children previously enrolled in Headstart or similar programs. Table 13* summarizes Follow Through operations from its inception to school year 1973-74. In fiscal year 1973-74, 78,000 low-income children were enrolled in 170 projects at the cost of $50.62 million.

(c) Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (PL 89-19), Title I. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) channels financial aid to local schools on the bases of their population of low-income children and to state departments of education for special programs. Although there are early education programs funded by ESEA Title I, breakdowns are not available by age or grade level of the children. Table 14* summarizes the number of children (6,296,735) in Title I programs by state and by public and private sponsorship in fiscal year 1971.

(d) Child Day Care. Surveys of child care arrangements are somewhat unreliable because such arrangements change depending on a number of factors. Often parents are reluctant to reveal the use of an unlicensed facility or one with which they are dissatisfied. Table 15* presents arrangements by age and race of the youngest child in 1965 and 1971, and by type of arrangement. More than half of child care takes place in the child's home or in a nonrelative's home (family day care). Group or center care constitutes a small percentage (4%) of the arrangements made by working women.

A 1975 survey by UNCO, Inc. for the Office of Child Development sampled parents to determine child care services they used (see Table 16*). In general, child day care in America remains an informal system with women relying on a changing configuration of arrangements based on relatives, sitters, and centers.

4. Early Childhood Education Programs in Urban School Systems--Recent Developments

It would be impossible to provide a complete description of the plethora of individual ECE programs in urban school systems. As background, however, some recent developments as well as categories of ECE programs likely to be found in urban systems will be briefly described. In reading descriptions, it is important to keep in mind there are variations even within the same program at different sites.

a. LEA Preschools and Child Day Care Systems. In some states, state preschools and day care centers are administered through the local school district. In most cases, these programs are targeted toward low-income children, especially those from minority group and single-parent families.

(1) California Children's Centers. An example of a statewide network of child development centers administered by LEAs is the California Children's Centers. Located at or near elementary school sites, the

centers are open from 6:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m., Monday through Friday, for the entire year except for major holidays. Children from 2 to 12 years of age are served in preschool and school-age centers, which are typically housed in the same facility. A sliding fee schedule, based on family income, is used with priority for enrollment given to children from present, former, or potential recipients of public assistance. The centers are funded through state funds, local taxes, parent fees, and federal funding for children from eligible families. According to state regulations, a comprehensive child development program including health services, parent education, nutrition, social services, and an educational program is offered.

(2) Brookline Early Education Project (BEEP). The suburban school district of Brookline (Massachusetts), in cooperation with the Harvard Graduate School of Education and Children's Hospital (Boston), initiated a 5-year feasibility test of the public school system in guiding the educational development of children from birth through 6 years of age. BEEP has three components: medical and psychological diagnoses for detecting learning problems at an early age; treatment; and parent education through provision of films, readings, and a toy-and-equipment lending program. Each family is assigned a teacher on whom it can call for information and assistance.

(3) Kramer School (Little Rock, Arkansas). Under the he direction of Bettye Caldwell of the University of Arkansas, the Kramer School serves children from 6 months to grade 6 in a continuous program of preschool and elementary education at one site. The school is part of the Little Rock (Arkansas) public school system, and is funded through school district and federal funds. Comprehensive child development services are provided. In addition to the ECE programs which operate from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m., the school serves as a community center.

(4) Dayton, Ohio ECE. Dayton public schools operates 22 prekindergarten centers--21 in elementary schools, 1 in the county children's home. The children are preschool age (2 1/2 to 5 years old) from low-income homes. Components include an educational program focusing on communication, intellectual, social, and emotional skills with health and parent programs.

(5) GET SET (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). The Philadelphia school system sponsors a comprehensive day care program for low income children. The program has 98 centers with 292 classrooms, operating from 7:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m., serving 4,900 children (3,800 preschool age). There are five components in the p.ogram: social services, curriculum instruction, health services, food services, and psychological services. The curriculum is child-centered, focusing on creativity and self-discovery within a supportive environment.

(6) Headstart Programs in School Districts. Headstart programs are operated by LEAs as well as community agencies and nonprofit groups in urban areas.

b. Infant-Toddler Programs. Programs for infants and toddlers (birth to approximately 2 1/2 years) in public schools are provided primarily for teenage mothers (ages 12-18 years depending upon the school) who are completing their secondary education. The programs are located on the school campus and typically associated with the home economics department in which mothers are required to take courses in family life and child care. Counseling services are also provided.

c. Early Childhood Education Programs (K-3).

(1) California Early Childhood Education (ECE) Program. The California ECE program was enacted by the State Legislature in 1972, as part of a move to reform primary education. The state appropriation provides participating schools with $130/child in addition to normal funding. In 1975-76, 33% of the state's children in grades K-3 in 1,800 schools participated at the total cost of $63.2 million.

ECE is a comprehensive program designed for all children in California's school districts. Some of the components of the program include: individualization of instruction; diagnostic and prescriptive profiles for each child; parent involvement; rewarding success by permitting districts with successful programs to expand their ECE programs; the development of local site plans based on parent and community needs.

(2) Follow Through. Project Follow Through was initiated in 1967, as a program to provide continuity with and to consolidate gains from Headstart in grades K-3. Follow Through is also referred to as "planned variation," i.e., models of early education based on different goals, values, and psychological theories were developed and implemented.

d. Education for Parenthood. Teenage parenthood and changing family structures contribute to a need to educate teenagers for parenthood. In 1972, the Office of Child Development and Office of Education initiated the Education for Parenthood program to prepare teenagers for parenthood by learning about child development, the role of parents, and by working with children. A new curriculum called "Exploring Childhood" was developed by the Education Development Center for use in high schools throughout the country. Voluntary associations such as Girl and Boy Scouts have also been involved. Individual school districts have also developed programs for teaching teenagers about parenthood and the developmental needs of children.

e. Adult Education. In many school districts, parent education is administered through the adult education section. Parents enroll for a variety of courses in child development, child study and observation. A wide range of media units--films, filmstrips, cassettes--have been developed for use in parenting programs. In 1976, the National Advisory Council on Adult Education developed a position paper describing the utilization of an adult education delivery system to expand programs for teaching parenting skills.

5. Staff Preparation and Development

The following discussion is organized into two parts. First, a national view of preparation and certification is presented. Their competency-based early education programs are briefly described. This section provides background information for issues centering on changing roles of early educators. Implications for staff preparation and development will be presented in Part II.

a. Preparation and Certification. In 1974-75, the Education Commission of the States conducted a survey of teacher training programs in early education. This survey indicated that 459 colleges now offer degree programs in early childhood education; 109 junior or community colleges offer Associate of Arts (A.A.) degrees in child development; and 654 colleges have courses in the field. Despite the availability of postsecondary education programs, requirements for teaching in early education programs below the primary level are low.

(1) Prekindergarten Teachers. Although there is state-by-state variation, many nursery schools, typically private ones, do not require teacher certification. The 1974-75 Education Commission of the States survey found that 21 states had prekindergarten certification requirements (see Table 17*). However, in 2 of these states, privately owned programs did not need to hire certified teachers.

Nursery school training has been traditionally available in departments of education, psychology, home economics, and child development. Colleges such as Merrill-Palmer Institute (Detroit), Bank Street College of Education (New York), and Erikson Institute (Chicago) specialize in the training of preschool teachers. Community colleges offer Associate of Arts degrees (A.A.) in child development which permit holders to teach in preschool programs.

The initiation of Headstart in 1965 provided the opportunity for minority and low-income people to work as paraprofessionals in early education programs. Through various career opportunity programs, some individuals moved into the certificated ranks. In 1974, 6 states required certification for prekindergarten paraprofessionals (see Table 17*).

(2) Kindergarten Teachers. Certification for kindergarten teachers and administrators is required in 48 states (see Table 17*). Twenty-nine states require an elementary school credential while in 7 others, an elementary credential plus additional work in early education is required. In 8 states, elementary certification is not applicable to kindergarten teaching.

As indicated in Table 17*, the state departments of education are typically responsible for the certification of kindergarten and prekindergarten teachers, while day care personnel are licensed by departments of health, welfare, and/or social services depending upon the state.

(3) Child Day Care Staff. An Education Commission of the States survey reported 37 out of 48 responding states had no certification

requirements for day care staff (see Table 18*). Qualifications for day care staff range from "relevant work experience" to a bachelor's degree with early childhood development courses for head teachers.

b. Competency-based Training Programs. The present situation regarding the preparation of early education personnel described in the preceding section indicates this is an area of continuing concern. Questions regarding the training of early educators will be discussed in greater detail in Part II. As background, however, a brief summary of two competency-based training approaches in early education will be described. Other examples can be found in an abstract bibliography prepared by the ERIC Clearinghouse on Early Childhood Education on teacher training.[39]

The competency-based approach is presented as an example of an "innovation" in the preparation of early childhood personnel. Competency-based programs emphasize demonstrated competencies in working with children rather than on degrees and credit hours based on classroom instruction. However, it has been criticized by various groups, on the one hand for being too detailed in outlining "what is a good teacher for young children" and by other critics, as being "too vague." It is expected, however, that if early education programs become publicly funded and/or linked with the public education system that there will be a move to specify requirements for the preparation of early education staff at different levels as now exist for elementary and secondary education.

(1) Child Development Associates. In 1972, the U.S. Office of Child Development (OCD) initiated the Child Development Associate (CDA) program as a means of professional development for staff and aides in early education programs. The CDA Consortium, a private, nonprofit organization composed of 39 national groups, developed a performance-based system to assess individuals working in early education programs in six broad areas: (1) set up and maintain a safe and healthy learning environment; (2) develop physical and intellectual competence; (3) build positive self-concept and individual strengths; (4) organize and maintain positive interaction of children and adults in a group environment; (5) provide a linkage between home and center child-rearing practices and expectations; (6) carry out supplementary responsibilities related to children's programs. On the basis of the assessment of the CDA candidate's performance in the early education program in which s/he is working, a "credential" is awarded. This credential is currently a professional award, not a license. The first CDA credentials were awarded to 34 people in July 1975.

The CDA program has not been without controversy. Some critics claim the program aims at saving money since CDA's could be used in place of highly paid professional staff. Others claim that professional teaching standards will be lowered. Since the CDA program is just beginning, it is not yet possible to make an assessment of its impact on training systems for early childhood education personnel. However, the program is part of an effort within early education to join the competency-based teacher education movement which has been ongoing for teacher education at the elementary and secondary levels.

(2) Flexible Learning System. Another example of a competency-based approach is being developed at the Far West Regional Laboratory for Educational Research and Development. The Flexible Learning System (FLS) is funded by the National Institute of Education (NIE) and OCD. In November 1975, 15 units of the system were available for preservice and for inservice training for teachers. Among these units are: An Introduction to Early Childhood Education, Using Toys and Games with Children, Problem Solving with Children, Helping Children Develop Healthy Self-Concepts, Selecting Children's Books with a Black Perspective, Arrangement of the Classroom for Children, and others.

The FLS is described by its developers as a learner-designed process where individuals identify competencies they wish to develop. Once a unit is selected, learning objectives as well as the training steps are clearly specified. In addition, the learners can get feedback regarding their learning by self-checking quizzes, classroom work samples, and posttests specifically designed for the unit.

D. SUMMARY

The preceding discussion provided an overview of American early childhood education with a particular focus on issues related to urban education. Part I should be considered as important background information for the field visits and the address on policy questions in early childhood education which will be presented at the Harvard-Lesley College session. If there are questions about American early education which are not covered in this paper, conference participants are encouraged to write the author:

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List of Footnotes

Part I

[1] The research assistance of Laurie Garduque and Maryalice Jordan-Marsh is acknowledged with thanks. I continue to learn about the education and care of American children from my work with early educators. Of these many individuals, I am especially grateful to Docia Zavitkovsky.

[2] Caldwell, B. Introduction-period of consolidation. In J. Hellmuth (Ed.), Disadvantaged Child (Vol. 3). New York: Brunner/Mazel, Inc., 1970, pp. v-vii.

[3] Sigel, I. Where is preschool education going: Or are we en route without a road map? Assessment in a pluralistic society. Proceedings of 1972 Invitational Conference on Testing Problems. Princeton: Educational Testing Service, 1973, pp. 99-116.

[4] Cremin, L. A. Further notes toward a theory of education. Notes on education. March 1974, Institute of Philosophy and Politics of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1974, pp. 4-5.

[5] National Council of Organizations for Children and Youth. America's children 1976: A Bicentennial assessment. Washington, D.C.: National Council of Organizations for Children and Youth, 1976, pp. 53-58.

[6] Ibid., pp. 55, 59-61.

[7] Ibid., pp. 66-68.

[8] Ibid., p. 52.

[9] In the United States there are Educational Resources Information Centers (ERIC) which collect information in selected areas. The ERIC for Early Childhood Education is located at 805 West Pennsylvania Avenue, Urbana, Illinois 61801. Lilian G. Katz, Ph.D., is the director.

[10] Senn, M. J. E. Insights on the child development movement in the United States. Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 1975, 40 (3, Serial No. 161).

[11] This discussion on historical perspectives is based on Ruby Takanishi, Federal involvement in early childhood education (1933-1973): The need for historical perspectives. In L. G. Katz (Ed.), Current topics in early childhood education (Vol. I). 1976 (in press).

[12] Rein, M. Values, knowledge, and social policy. In S. White & Associates (Eds.), Federal Programs for young children: Review and recommendations (Vol. III), Appendix IIID. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1973, p. 6.

[13] Final report on the WPA program, 1935-1943. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943, p. 60.

[14]Bettye Caldwell recalls this period of optimism: "So excited we were many of us by the possibilities of Head Start that we did not go on record to protest that a six-week summer program could not hope to do all that it was being requested to do-develop a positive self-concept, produce new levels of language competence, discover and correct an accumulation of five years' work of medical and nutritional problems, and convince parents that education was the solution to all their problems. Plus many other miracles." See Caldwell, B. Consolidating our gains in early childhood. Educational Horizons, Winter 1971-1972, 50, p. 57.

[15]Hunt, J. M. The psychological basis for using preschool enrichment as an antidote for cultural deprivation. Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 1964, 10, pp. 220-248.

[16]Report on proposed "Child Development" Program: Radical Federal Plan. Human Events, October 13, 1971, p. 902.

[17]Hopkins, H. L. Announcement of emergency nursery schools. Childhood Education, December 1933, X, p. 155.

[18]Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. New York: Bantam Books, 1968, p. 446.

[19]Lazerson, M. Urban education, 1970, 5, pp. 83-102.

[20]Quoted by E. O. Lundberg. Public aid to mothers with dependent children. Children's Bureau Publications, 1928, (162), p. 1.

[21]U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau. Conference on the Day Care of Children of Working Mothers. August 1, 1941 (Bureau Publication No. 281), 1942.

[22]U. S. Congress, Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Comprehensive Head Start, Child Development, and Family Services Act of 1972. Bill text and section-by-section analysis, 92nd Congress, 2nd Session, 1972, p. 1.

[23]Swift, J. W. Effects of early group experience: The nursery school and day nursery. In M. & L. W. Hoffman (Eds.), Review of Child Development Research (Vol. I), New York: Russell Sage, 1964.

[24]There is a wealth of information on models of early education which were developed in the sixties. For a comprehensive review of program descriptions and evaluation data, see White, S. Federal programs for young children: Review and recommendations (Vol. II). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

[25]Ibid., Chapter 10.

[26]The acronyms commonly associated with these levels are FEA (federal educational agency), SEA (state educational agency), and LEA (local educational agency.

[27]The federal maze: Even insiders shudder. American School Board Journal, 1976, 163, pp. 16-17. See also Comptroller General of the U.S. Fundamental changes are needed in federal assistance to state and local governments. Washington, D.C.: General Accounting Office, 1975.

[28]Comptroller General of the United States. Fundamental changes are needed in federal assistance to state and local governments. Washington, D.C., 1972, p. 9.

[29]One of these, the Office of Economic Opportunity, was phased out in 1974, and its programs were moved to the Department of Labor.

[30]White, S., & Associates. Federal programs for young children (Vol. III), Appendix IIIC.

[31]Ibid., Appendix IIIC, p. 1.

[32]As grouped by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, the southern region includes the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia.

[33]King, I. A. Preprimary enrollment, October 1974. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975, p. 7.

[34]Schloss, S. Nursery-kindergarten enrollment of children under six, October 1965, Washington, D.C.: National Center for Educational Statistics, 1966, p. 6.

[35]Gentler, D. B. Preprimary enrollment of children under six. Washington, D.C.: National Center for Educational Statistics, 1968, p. 3; Preprimary enrollment of children under six, October 1970. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1971.

[36]Parker, R., & Knitzer, J. Day care and preschool services: Trends and issues. Atlanta, Avatar Press, 1972, pp. 18-19.

[37]The North Atlantic region includes the states of Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont. The Southeast region includes the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia.

[38]The Great Lakes and Plains region includes the states of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.

[39]Howard, N. K. (Ed.). Education of preschool and elementary teachers: An abstract bibliography. Urbana: ERIC Clearinghouse on Early Childhood Education, October 1974 (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 097 130).

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